/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 297 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [309] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called temberá. -- While the Temberá attach no special [124] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/225 cont./

353 778 [792] 778 789

and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

142 291 301 534 778 • 304 ← 291 534 576 →

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 [124] The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[778] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Ru-Tenó (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Cainás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right ponchos on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where Jolio Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, Jolio Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Ýy. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl:

1: Hanke--17 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for heir mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and aldressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived here, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to haven.

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Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and *ajo-ping* complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

2: Schaden--28 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva: there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbbá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, [732] accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestiso children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [191] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago: I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [193] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupí, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbbá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá: I have seen Mbbá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Rocinl (Paraíba coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the Ñandesí Miguel. These that must [194] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

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304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva: the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [92] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjadjohuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck: when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Barirí even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the cabocles, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of spinnum of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [594]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[149] [148] [164]

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582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Although in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

601 593 604 593 [184]

The acculturative situation of the different communities that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

585 581 304 [115] [178] [829]

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585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the flanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [797] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 [585] [114] [115]

/89 cont./

846 825 773 [881] them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is menstruating.

846 178 [881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals, brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.

846 178 825 [826] Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who, instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 [609] [304] [178] [184] There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 512 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumĩ-pepỹ, or kunumĩ-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paĩ) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumĩ-pepỹ coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatĩ-mongaraĩ (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the ñanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kununí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the ñanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the ñanderú lets them go, it is the ñanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./ As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[304] [262] [752]

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] [884] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] [304] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

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881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumĩ-pepýý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguýý, the black dye of yváporoýý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráĩdjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paĩ.

881 782 [304] [21] [192] [622] [256] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráĩdjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apykâ, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apykâ, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apykâ to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apykâ; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráĩdjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ýý (also called mbavýý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 73. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[124] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most frequently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initiation of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South

[124] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

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FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

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FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeta* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

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/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On the occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
[352] it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[784] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[843] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[824] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[262] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SK4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PERFORATION OF THE LIPS AND EARS OF THE SAVAGES.

A
301 THE Abipones, like all the other American
[304] savages, used formerly to pierce their lower lip with a hot iron, or a sharp reed. Into the hole some insert a reed and others a small tube of bone, glass, gum, or yellow brass; an ornament allowed only to the men when they are seven years old, never to the women. This custom
M has long since been abolished amongst the later
G Abipones, but is still continued by the Gu-
• Gu ranies who inhabit the woods, by the Mbayas,
p Guanas, and Payaguas. These people think
301 themselves most elegantly adorned when they
• [304] have a brass pipe a span long, and about the thickness of a goose's quill, hanging from the lip to the breast. But this imaginary ornament renders them very formidable to European strangers; for they are of great height, their bodies are painted with juices of various colours, and their hair stained of a blood red; the wing of a vulture is stuck in one of their ears, and strings of glass beads hung round their neck, arms, knees and legs; thus accoutred they walk the

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1780) 1822
514 Abipon
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SM4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

M
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301

streets smoking tobacco out of a very long reed; figures in every respect terrible to behold.

Gu
301

The thing which is inserted into the lip, of whatever material it may be made, is called by the Guaranies *tembetà*, and is universally used by them whilst they wander about the woods without religion; but after being converted to Christianity and settled in colonies they throw away this lip appendage. The hole of the lip, which neither salve nor plaster will cure, however, remains, and in speaking the saliva sometimes flows profusely through it; it also impedes them a little in pronouncing some words. All the plebeian Indians whom I discovered in the woods of Mbaevevá, both youths and adults, used a short slender reed for the tembetà; but that of the three caciques was made of a gold-coloured gum or rosin. At first sight I could have sworn that it was glass. In the heat of the sun that beautiful gum flows plentifully from the tree abati timbabỹ, and falls gradually into the models of tembetàs, crosses, globes, or any other figure they like: exposed to the air it grows as hard as a stone, so that no liquid can ever melt it, but still retains its glassy transparency. If this rosin of the tree abati timbabỹ were not possessed of singular hardness, the tembetà made of it, after remaining whole

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[177]
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1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
PARAGUAY SM1
GUARANI SM4
BRAZILIAN INDIANS SL4

G4 301 [314] days in the lip of the savage, and being covered with saliva, would soften, and dissolve.

●G4 ●304 Do not imagine that there is but one method of piercing the lip amongst the savages. The anthropophagi do not pierce the lower lip but cut it to the length of the mouth in such a manner, that when the wound terminates in a scar they look as if they had two mouths. They wander up and down the woods, and are often, but fruitlessly exhorted by the Jesuits, not without peril to themselves, to embrace our religion. P B 266 The Indians of Brazil and Paraguay formerly delighted in human flesh. Many of them, after having been long accustomed to Christian discipline in our towns, sometimes confessed that the flesh of kine or of any wild animal tastes extremely flat and insipid to them, in comparison with that of men. We have known the Mocobios and Tobas, for want of A P 266 727 other food, eat human flesh even at this day. Some hundreds of the last-mentioned savages fell suddenly upon Alaykin, cacique of the Abipones, about day-break as he was drinking in a distant plain with a troop of his followers. An obstinate combat was carried on for some time, at the end of which the wounded Abipones escaped by flight. Alaykin himself and six of his fellow-soldiers fell in the engagement, and were afterwards roasted and devoured by the